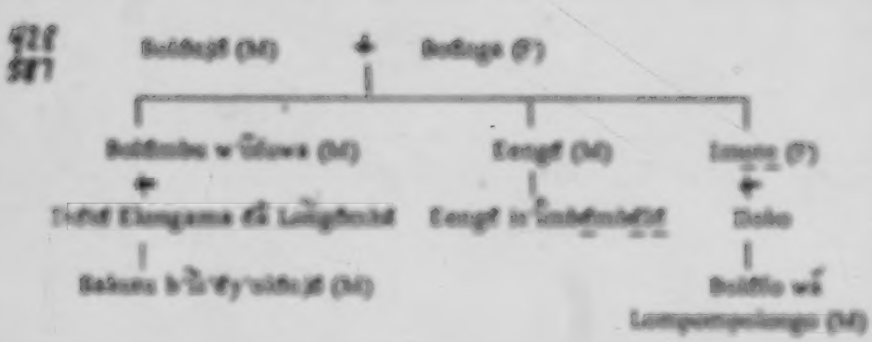
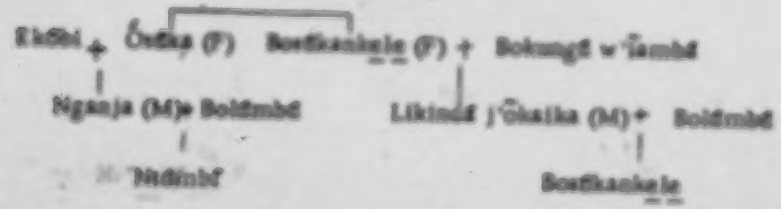


Imóma of Ekóko (Bongíli), one of the Lolonga clans, married Ekóko of Imóma (Bongíli). With valuables received from his mother's family their son, Bolífio, married three women: Wéngi, Bonó, his favorite, and a slave from Bokáká (w'Ongandí). When he died, his widows went to the Ekóko clan which was the source of his wealth. Two claimants appeared: Eongé (first cousin of the deceased but in Nkundó terminology his son) and Bakúma of Bokonda (Ikwombé) also a first cousin, and considered one by the Nkundó. They were to divide the widows. But both of them chose the deceased's favorite and quarreled over her. In the end she was assigned to Bakúma who was the "father" of his rival and the "elder brother" of the deceased. The slave also went to Bakúma, (2) while Eongé had to be satisfied with the

2. Who yielded her to Ikándé y'Ongombo of Ekóko.

first wife. But he and his clan retained a right over these women and their [198] progeny. This is rather an old case; in fact two grandsons of Bakúma and Ikándé respectively, whom I know very well personally, are now between fifty and sixty years old.

The following is a more recent example:



Two sisters, Ombe and Bonkaniele of Ikengo, Nkombé (Wangata), were married repectively to Likfolé of Likfala (Besombé, Bombwenje) and Bokongé of Bombéngo wa Ikolé (Besombé. Ngaeja married Bolifombé of Ikinku (Bonkumo). When Bolifombé became a widow she was inherited by Likfolé, the first cousin of the deceased on his mother's side, so that the patrimony would not be scattered. She gave Likfolé a daughter, Bonkaniele, whose bride price he used to get himself a wife, Bomfila (Teresa), daughter of Ilito of Bolingé (Bongili). At Likfolé's death the rights returned to Nkombé (Joseph) in the person of the widow Bomfila, the skirt of his uterine sister.

If the legitimate her, or some other close relative of the deceased, wants to marry a widow, he consults the head of the family and then goes to the woman's parents and gives them bekooli (1).

1. The plural of the noun derived from the verb koola, "to seek, to take for someone," hence, "objects in order to go and take someone."

which consists of 1 to 3 copper rings, added to the amount of the bride price. This gift shows the suitor's respect for the woman's family. (2) If after a time the woman no longer wants to stay with

2. In addition to this native interpretation another may be given which is more profound and of a legal nature. This will be done further on (Article IX).

him, but loves another close relative, the latter also brings his bekooli. This is expected of him even if the woman has not gone home in between, but has gone directly from one man to the other.

[191] The bekooli of the first man are then returned.

If the new husband is only distantly related to the deceased, (1)

1. In that case he is called ekto ea nsongé, literally "relative from the summit," as against ekto ea nkóna, "relative of the base," therefore a close relative.

572 and those who owe submission and respect. The "superior" relatives
602 are the ascendants, uncles, aunts, etc., in short, all those bearing
576 the title of "father" or "mother," as well as elder brothers (elder
sisters, elder cousins, etc.), who are bambólé (sing. bambólé).
• [601] The "inferiors" are the descendants, those who are called "children"
(bɔ̂na): sons and daughters, grandsons, nephews, nieces, younger
brothers or sisters, and those who are classed with them and called
bakítsí (sing. bokítsí).

593 4) Polygamy and the inheritance of widows introduce another
597 element. We will see that although persons of certain degrees of
affinity may not marry, the prohibition is lifted to permit the in-
heritance of widows.

5) Our term "relatives by marriage" the Nkundó term and
bakílé are not synonymous, even with respect to direct affinity. When
we use the term "relatives by marriage" here, we are speaking in
Nkundó terms. They do not consider certain persons whom we would
include in that category as "relations by marriage." Such persons
[601] are included in the group which as a whole is designated as likílé
or bakílé, but when properly and accurately referred to they are
called bɔ̂ne, "husband," or wáli, "wife," because they may marry
each other and therefore affinity, strictly speaking, cannot be applied
to them. In other words, for the Nkundó, affinity is the relationship
of a person with (only) those of his spouse's relatives whom he is for-
bidden to marry. It is well to bear in mind the double meaning of
this term.

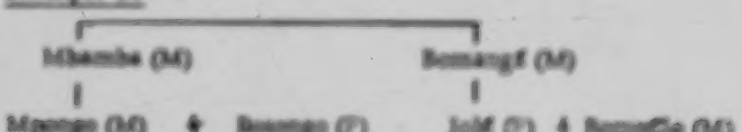
2. The rules

1. Direct Affinity

587 A. Marriages are prohibited in the direct line. Nevertheless,
603 in accordance with consideration number 4, a son or grandson may
606 inherit or marry the widows of his father or grandfather, but not the
reverse. [256]

The same rule applies to cousins:

Example 25

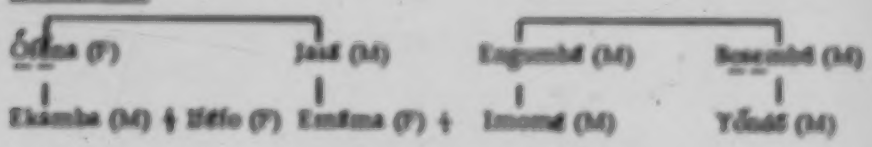


Marriage between Bompélo and Bosongo is forbidden.

As the degrees of relationship grow more distant, the obstacles increasingly lose their force, so that exceptions are more readily accepted.

One point remains to be noted, although it has already been mentioned several times. Cousins (male or female) who are bôsankôfé are "fathers" to their cousins according to Nkumbé law; they are therefore treated as aunts or uncles. For them the prohibition is very severe, especially if they are nyangôkilé, "mother" of a relative by marriage.

Example 26



Ekamba is Jolé's bôsankôfé and therefore Emfima's "father," Ifélo, his wife, is therefore Emfima's mother. Emfima is Yôndô's bokilé. Consequently, Ifélo is the mother of Yondô's bokilé and therefore Yondô's nyangôkilé. Marriage between Ifélo and Yôndô is strictly prohibited, though it is not prohibited between Emfima and Yôndô (see Example 18).

Adulterous relations among these various persons will be discussed in Chapter VI, Article VI, 2. [260]

602 brings forth reprimands on the part of the husband and his parents which obviously can easily degenerate into quarrels. If the omissions are so frequent and of such a nature that they can no longer be explained as simply forgetting, a whim, or a fit of peevishness, but [299] are taken to indicate spitefulness or vulgarity, the matter is [627] brought before the nkonga (who is often assisted by the family tribunal) or brought before the authority constituted by the woman's kin. If in spite of everything the expected improvement does not take place, the break-up is inevitable.

606 The husband's father and mother extend the same affection to their son's wife as they feel toward him. They consider her their own child, and it is not unusual to find that their love for the wife equals their feeling for their own son. She is only a relative by marriage, but out of affection for her they call her their child. She, for [609] her part, does not use toward them the term bakanga (or bokilí) but out of filial respect calls them "father" and "mother." Exceptions to this practice may be found, however.

606 224 If the father (and those who fall in the same category such as uncles, elder brothers, etc.) kills a large game animal, he is expected to give his son's (or brother's, etc.) wife a piece of meat, whose size depends on the number of daughters-in-law he has and which consists of one or several chops (bokalaka) (1) and the piece at

1. Called lisio among the Bolengé and the tribes of the Losangania.

the nape of the neck (botombya).

606 635 Illicit relations between the husband's father and his daughter-in-law would be an unheard of crime. The same would be true with respect to any of the "superior" relatives. (2) The laws regulating

[178] [194] 2. Only the Boongi -- like the Elánga of the Losangania - allow relations between a brother and the wife of his junior, and they are already beginning to find imitators among their neighbors to the southeast, the Injolo.

the relations between a wife and her husband's parents are closely connected with the rules pertaining to the prohibition related to affinity and seems to spring from the same source. Therefore it will be useful to have in mind what we have said in the preceding chapter, Article IV.

The husband's elder brothers treat his wife as their sister. The wife calls her husband's sisters [280] bakilé, but out of respect she often gives them the title of "mother." (1)

1. Among the Ekégé the wife also calls her husband's sisters bongili (pl. bongili); they call her bongili (pl. bongili). A wife often calls her husband's mother nyongili. Bongili i bongili mean "the brother's wives and their sisters-in-law."

After the husband's death, as has been said nun lemo, his father or his brother may marry his widow. But this practice is not well regarded and is permitted only rarely, chiefly when the scattering of the family patrimony is feared or if the two interested parties have an unusual love for each other.

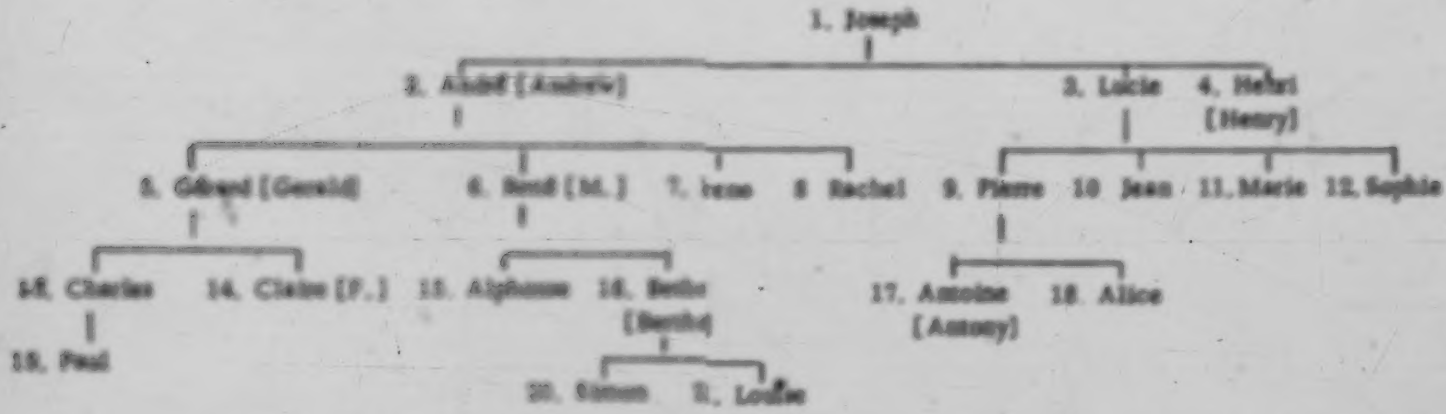
With respect to children or younger brothers and all those who fall into that category, the situation is altogether different. Illicit relations with wives of their father, grandfather, uncle, elder brother, or elder cousin, are judged much less severely. Generally, misconduct does not give rise to claims for payment, or the payment is demanded "for form's sake" and consists of a hen and a bunch of bananas. By means of this payment the guilty one recognizes his error and renders homage to the right of his elder.

In general public opinion condemns these relations and often with great severity. The question of degree of kinship as well as other considerations result in a great diversity among the cases, so we will examine each situation separately and distinguish each time between the husband's reaction and that of public opinion.

Appendix

Kinship Terminology: Genealogical Table

(N. B. To facilitate a clear indication of sexes, we are using European names [for the same purpose, English names are in brackets where they differ from the French.])



Microfilmed by the Library of Congress, 1938

• 601

1. For 1 – 13 and 14 are bonkúnúlá, pl. bankúnúlá.
   For 13 and 14 – 1 is nkúnúlá, pl. bankúnúlá.
2. For 2, 3, and 4 – 13 and 14 are bonkúna, pl. bankúna.
   For 13 and 14 – 2, 3, and 4 are nkúna (nyangí), pl. bankúna (nyangí).
3. For 1 – 2, 3, and 4 are bǒna, pl. bǎna.
   For 2, 3, and 4 – 1 is isé, pl. baisé (relative to the first person, fasé, pl. bafasé).
4. For 3 – 9, 10, etc., are bǒna, pl. bǎna.
   For 9, 10, etc., – 3 is nyangí, pl. banyangí (relative to the first person, ngúya, bangúya).
5. For 5 – 6 is bokúnú, pl. bakúnú.
   For 7 – 8 is bokúná, pl. bakúná.
   For 6 – 5 is bonémbó, pl. banémbó (relative to the first person; mǐmí, bamǐmí).
   For 8 – 7 is bonémbó, pl. banémbó (relative to the first person; mǐmí, bamǐmí).
6. For 5 and 6 – 7 and 8 are nkúna, pl. bankúna.
   For 7 and 8 – 5 and 6 are nkúna, pl. bankúna.
7. For 5, 6, 7, and 8 – 3 is isémono, pl. baisémono (for the first person; fasémono, pl. bafasémono).
   For 3 – 5, 6, 7, and 8 are bǒnankúnú, pl. bankúnú.
8. For 9, 10, 11 and 12 – 2 and 4 are nyangómpámá, pl. banyangómpámá (or nyangóbika) (for the first person; ngómpámá, bangómpámá).
   For 2 and 4 – 9, 10, 11, and 12 are bǒnankúnú, pl. bǒnankúnú.
9. For 13 and 14 – 6 is isé (éy'ísúlu).
   For 6 – 13 and 14 are bǒna.
10. For 15 and 16 – 5 is isé (éy' mpaka).
    For 5 – 15 and 16 are bǒna.
11. For 13, 14, 15, and 16 – 5, 6, 7, and 8.
12. For 14 – 20 and 21 are bǎna.
    For 20 and 21 – 14 is nyangó.
13. For 13 – 20 and 21 are bǒnankúnú.
    For 20 and 21 – 13 is nyangómpámá.

● 601

14. For 9, 10, 11, and 12 – 5, 6, 7, and 8 are bǎna.
    For 5, 6, 7, and 8 – 9, 10, 11, and 12 are baisé.
15. For 9, 10, etc. – 13, 14, 15, and 16 are bankǎna.
    For 13, 14, 15, and 16 – 9, 10, 11, and 12 are bankǒko.
16. For 5, 6, 7, and 8– 17 and 18 are brothers and sisters, and vice versa.
17. For 13, 14, 15, and 16 – 17 and 18 are baisé.
    For 17 and 18 – 13, 14, 15, and 16 are bǎna.
18. For 19, 20, and 21 – 4 is nkǒkoolo.
    For 4 – 19, 20, and 21 are bankǎnola.
19. For 19 – 15 is isé.
    For 15 – 19 is bǒna.
20. For 19 – 14 and 16 are baisǒmoto.
    For 14 and 16 – 19 is bǒna.
21. For 19 – 20 and 21 are baisǒmoto.
    For 20 and 21 – 19 is bǒna.

613 they always refer to their descent from the ancestor-founder: "We are baseka Ngoi (descendants of Ngoi; we belong to the clan of Ngoi)."

Naturally the Nkundo-Mongo know very well that all the Mongo clans are descended from a common ancestor. They even believe in the common descent of all people. However, in clan unity they only go back to that ancestor who made their group legally autonomous, who made himself independent.

To that group belong, thus, all the children of that founder, all of the children of his sons, all of the children of his grandsons and great-grandsons; thus, all those who keep the same family name in our society.

The Nkundo-Mongo call the clan from the father's side their wise, from ise (father). The children of the lawfully married daughters belong to another wise, since they go back on their father's side to another ancestor. However, children of an unmarried daughter of the [848] clan continue to bear their mother's name, and thus belong to the wise of the mother, just as, in our society, they take on the family name of the mother.

Married women, however, continue ethnically to belong to their own paternal clan and do not form part of the wise of their husband.

2. Kinship Terms in the Paternal Clan

601 613 All of the living members of the paternal clan constitute one extended family. In the bosom of that one family, all members of the same /151/ generation also bear the same title. All of the members of the grandfather's generation are grandfathers. All the members of the father's generation are fathers, also including the female members. Thus, the sisters and female cousins of the father who belong to the wise are all called "female fathers": isomoto or faomoto (from ise or fafa, father, and bomoto, woman). All of the older brothers and male cousins of the wise are batomolo; all younger brothers or male cousins of the wise are bakune; all sisters or female cousins of the wise are nkana. All of the children of brothers and male cousins, and also all of the children of sisters and female cousins who remain in the wise, are bana (children).

601 561 613 Such terms are to us, of course, a never ending source of mistakes, complications, and ridicule. The native cannot possible understand this and underneath takes it very much amiss. Socially, legally, and

601 561 613 politically, his whole society is, in fact, based on those relationships which are incomprehensible to us. Indeed, the order of duty and responsibility, of authority and honor, are socially, legally, and politically determined by the order of birth. That order is determined by generation, and within the generation, by age: from the oldest father down the whole line of fathers to the oldest "child" in the whole row of children. The children of your older brother, even if they are younger in years, go before your own children. As we shall see later, the female members of the family, who practically fall outside this order, recover their place of honor through their sons.

613 From this short description of the paternal clan, it is immediately apparent that the clan is not a geographical concept among the Nkundo. Wherever the daughter may marry, wherever the son may wander in service to the Whites, that person always and everywhere continues by law to belong to his wise, and he remains bound to all the rights and duties of his place in that community.

602 613 It also appears that clan and blood relationship do not come anywhere near to blanketing each other. Each "blood relationship" of the Nkundo extends itself over various paternal clans, since the blood relations of the mother, as well as the descendants of all the other women of my wise who are lawfully married out of the clan, belong to another wise.

/152/ 3. Inheritance in the Clan

613 471 Each clan has possessions that constitute the inheritance or patrimony of the members, the domain of the family. These goods are of two kinds: economic and dotal. The former are subdivided into real property, or inalienable property, and personal property.

613 423 The real property of the clan consists of land and waters. The land is divided into: arable land, land for gardens, and hunting areas. These constitute common property, whose cultivation or usufruct is divided among the members of the clan: each one receives his garden land and hunting ground to clear; as soon as the user leaves it, that ground is free again for the community. Palm groves, of course, also remain common property of the members. A similar arrangement applies to water rights. Larger fishing areas remain common property and are, under the leadership of the clan head, communally exploited. Smaller fishing grounds, creeks, ponds, etc., are allotted to each

613 authority (mpifo). Each clan can, however, also take in other persons
614 who fall outside the order of authority, but who legally belong to the
608 clan. Along with the real descendants, they make up the legal clan.

These are, in the first place, the wives who have married into the clan, the children brought with them (mbusola), and the lawful housekeepers. In addition, there are the clients who have been taken in; then the war prisoners and slaves; and finally the Pygmies. The women married into the clan are naturally separate, as are also the Pygmies who form a completely separate community. The others are gradually treated as children, receive their part in the general responsibility and protection, their place in the court session, etc. Depending on the degree to which they develop in the bosom of the clan which has taken them in, they can constitute a separate group in it, which becomes more and more independent.

7. The Maternal Clan

602 Each Nkundo has a double "fatherland": his wise and his bonyango.
613 The bonyango is the paternal clan of his mother. His mother gave birth to him there; her blood relations live there and receive him with motherly love and will protect him against all difficulties; he has often passed a large part of his happiest childhood years there; and there he can always find a safe shelter when, for one reason or another, he might lose the paternal clan.

The structure of the maternal clan naturally resembles that of the paternal clan in every way. If we treat it specially here, it is not in order to speak of the form, but only to point out the specific rights that each person has in his maternal clan.

601 Just as all of the brothers and sisters of my father are my "fathers,"
602 so all of the brothers and sisters of my mother are my "mothers."
613 Mother's brother, that is, my maternal uncle, I call ngompame, nyangompame. All the nephews and nieces on the mother's side are my "children." A special tie binds me to the children of the nkita of my mother, that is, to the children of the women who was acquired by the maternal clan with the bride price /158/ that had been paid for my mother by my wise. Mother is, thus, the nkolo, the woman or mistress, of those children who call me their father.

602 As long as I continue to live in my own paternal clan, I have the
613 right to special care and love from the maternal clan. If I cannot find

602 sufficient dowry at home, then I can always go and appeal to my
613 maternal uncles who are obliged to help me insofar as they are able. I even have the right to the free dowry of one of the children of my mother's nkita. I may always lay out gardens and hunt in the territory of my bonyango, and take part in the court sessions of the maternal clan when they consider the allotment of the free dowries or the division of the inheritance. If, however, I wish to leave my father's clan and establish myself for good in the maternal clan, then I receive priority in everything over my male and female cousins and become heir and clan leader directly after my maternal uncles. This is, thus, a truly princely compensation for the so-called inferiority of the woman in native society: the child of the sister (bonankana) restores her gloriously to the honor and rank which are due her.

8. Related Clan: Likilo

602 Outside my paternal clan and outside my maternal clan, I still
601 have blood relations: namely, the children of my paternal aunt and of my sisters or female cousins, each of whom belongs to the clan of his own father. Just as the children of my mother's brothers are my children, so the children of my father's sister are also my fathers. I am, thus, in the same relationship to the children of my mother's brother as the children of my father's sister are to me.

As far as the children of my sister are concerned, they are also my real banankana and, therefore, the fathers of my own children.

The other members of the related clans (who are thus not blood relations) all share, according to generation, in the classification of immediate relatives: all the "fathers" of the husband are "fathers-in-law"; all the mothers, "mothers-in-law"; etc. There is this single big difference, that the "superiors" of the husband are also your "superiors." According to the opinions of the Nkundo, they are the only real relatives. Those on the husband's side are called bokilo; those on the wife's side, bokanga.

/159/ The "subordinates" of the husband are not real relatives and rightly call each other "husband" and "wife." In various legally [582] defined circumstances, marriage relations and marriages are permitted between the latter.

It is unnecessary to repeat that all of the members of the reciprocal clans share in these relationships: the whole generation of a clan

602 member is, as it were, identified with that member, so that, for in-
601 stance, all younger sisters and female cousins of one spouse become "wives" of all the younger brothers and male cousins of the other spouse. One must really have the legal sense and the patience and the capacity for palaver and unravelling of an old Nkundo to make sense out all of these relationships. They themselves compare them, in fact, with the inextricable clew of the intestines of a sort of dwarf crocodile: besofo bya lokekele.

9. Exogamy

613 582 The term, "exogamic clan," often heard or encountered in writings, is also, at least in the Nkundo-Mongo society, very misleading. The group of persons with whom marriage is forbidden does not constitute any common entity; it differs from person to person. Two half brothers can have the same paternal clan but differ in maternal clan; they can have the same maternal clan and different paternal clans. Marriages are forbidden for older brothers and sisters that are permitted for the younger ones. The rules differ from one blood relation to another, from blood relation with relative-by-marriage to blood relation with relative-by-marriage, from relative-by-marriage with relative-by-marriage to relative-by-marriage with relative-by-marriage.

If one still wishes to put the law of exogamy into European terms, then one might say: 1) blood relationship forbids marriage insofar as the blood relationship is recognized. This recognition varies from clan group to clan group. Sometimes in the same legal but extended clan, an exception is made to this recognition; mostly, however, the different autonomous clans which descend from the same distant ancestor are still bound by the law of exogamy. Generally, groups which have the same father but a different mother /160/ separate most quickly. 2) Relationship (other than blood) forbids marriage—insofar as the relationship is recognized between the parents of spouses; it sometimes permits marriage between children of spouses.

613 582 184 Here it should be observed once again, however, that the customs differ from region to region as regards this recognition; that, for instance, the stepson in many regions may marry his stepmother in a regular marriage; and that the violations are less severely judged and punished in proportion to the degree to which the forbidden relationships diverge.

583 428 426 young man can pay for his wife, or rather pay her bride price with his own earned money, then that wife becomes his property. At his death, no creditors or mortgage holders can come to demand the wife since she will then actually be free. There will also be no difficulty in making her heir to the property of her husband, for herself and her children. The bride price or payment for wives among the civilized Blacks could be very much simplified. To abolish it would not be so easy. Indeed, it seems to be in the customs and the habits of the whole Black race. Then too, with respect to bride price, usually still in entanglements with their heathen relatives.

The bride price, as it exists among the heathens, will always remain a source of difficulties for civilization and a support for polygyny.

000 When the price is lowered, the large number of wives of polygynists will be seen to disperse and go to the men who have no wife. Thus, single marriages will be increased, and the district, whose population is greatly decreased, will become populated again. Lowering the price will also prevent women being paid for with women; and thus the trading of women will be hindered, since then the whole bride price can be paid in currency. It is also anticipated that the woman will become less a material object; and by changing the wife from an object of inheritance to an heiress, her moral value will be raised in her own eyes and in the eyes of the men.

In order to civilize the land, Christian marriages must be established. In order to establish Christian marriages, the impediments that stand in the way must be removed, and everything be put to work to benefit what the good outcome of that can assure.

[549] Family Nomenclature

601

The name of:	is given to:
Ise, father	one's own father brothers of the father sons and grandsons of father's sisters

60

The name of:		is given to:
Ngoya Nyango	mother	one's own mother sisters of the mother
Bana, children		one's own children children of brothers or sisters children of mother's brothers grandchildren of mother's brothers
Nkoko-nyango, grand-parent		grandfather and grandmother brothers and sisters of grandfather and grandmother children and grandchildren of grandfather's sisters
Nkan'ea jenda, brother Nkan'ey'omoto, sister		by natural brothers and sisters to: the children of two brothers the children of two sisters
Nkana l'ontamba		an expression for "one's own brother and sister
Botomolo		older brother or sister (also used for older or younger contemporaries)
Bokune		younger brother or sister (also used for older or younger contemporaries)
Nyang-obika (1), uncle Ngompame		the brothers of mother

1. We could translate Nyangobika as male mother.

601

The name of:	is given to:
Ise-omoto (2), aunt	the sisters of father the daughters of father's sisters the granddaughters of father's sisters

2. We could translate Iseomoto as female father.

Bokilo	son-in-law, brother-in-law, father-in-law, daughter-in-law, sister-in-law
Nkita, substitute	by the daughter to: the extra wife of her father, bought with her bride price her sister-in-law or extra wife of her brother, bought with her bride price

61 another group. According to their relationship to others, groups
602 may be designated as:

brother, younger or older;

brother or half brother (descended from various wives of the polygynous ancestor);

[848] Illegitimate child of the sister which, legally, as the child of the oldest brother or of the father of his mother, belongs to the group of the mother's relatives;

child of a boy who together with his sister has moved to the unit of his brothers-in-law and has settled there permanently;

son of a sister, who for some reason has separated from his paternal relatives and has moved in with the group of his mother or of one of his grandmothers.

●601 Present-day social relationships are influenced by this variety of kinship relations. The kinship terms which refer to the relationships of the genuine or assumed ancestors to each other are occasionally transferred to the groups.

614 In this paper we shall describe the Isangi group (12) as an
602
621

12. Müller, Fürstentum [Kingdom], pp. 68 ff., 125, 128 ff.

[101] example of hierarchical kinship structure. Isangi is a local group of the type described above (p. 1). Following the custom of the region, I shall refer to it as a "village." Until we have decided which terms are applicable to the various groups, I shall use the letters A to E for the individual ranks of the hierarchical structure. Within this system A shall stand for the smallest and E for the largest units (see Diagram 2).[1]

In addition to the three ranks of Group D in Isangi, there are others in the daughter villages (see Diagram 1). These may also include foreign groups, as, for example, the "Nkundó" group, Liimbu, in Wengá.

[1] [See page 6, category 116.—Analyst]

601 Bonsonga and etúká are terms used for kinship groups of
621 ranks B, C, and D, but occasionally they may also refer to
614 [192] the groups listed under A and, in addition, to the local groups which in size approximately correspond to the kinship units mentioned above. Etúká is the term used for the oil palm grove and for a certain kind of termite hill; apparently it is used for local groups more frequently than the term bonsonga.

[571] Another term whose meaning varies is ekíndá. This word
[535] designates, first of all, a dance group, a corps de ballet, and also the social unit which sends such a joint dance troupe to dance festivals.

Esé also has strong local connotations. It is usually identical with what we call a village, but frequently units which are larger or smaller than a village are designated as esé. Very large groups, tribes and even larger units, are called bonanga.

614 As a criterion for placing the individual groups within a certain rank, one or several functions have been chosen in each case. The groups of the individual ranks are described below relative to their functions. On the subject of groups it should be added that in general they do not differ from each other in certain traits. All groups of all ranks are kinship units of patrilineal descent. They consider themselves descendants of one ancestor. No continuous and complete genealogy which can be traced back to the original ancestor is known. The genealogy of the entire group of the Bakonda is shown in Diagram 1.

In Isangi two of the ancestors of the groups of rank D are brothers, the third is the brother of their father. A D-group (Ngelé) includes, in addition, the descendants of an illegitimate child of the paternal sister of the ancestor. These offspring form the C-group, Nsambásálá.

There is a gap between this ancient genealogy and the known ancestors from the recent past. In contrast with that of the neighboring Bokóté [Bokete] (see, for example, Boelaert, [173] "Les Bongili"), the genealogical memory of the Ekonda is weak. It does not reach back to the ancestor of the group of rank A. In this connection we must take into account the fact that a group

9: Boelaert--1 E,M-5 (ca. 1945) 1951 FO32 Mongo FO32 Nkundu

101 114 [218] The Nkundo [Nkundu], or Mongo, are an important ethnic group of the central basin of the Belgian Congo. They are patriarchal (1). I lived among their west-central tribes for

1. The rules and many details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo have already been set forth in Le Mariage des Nkundo by Father G. Hulstaert (Belgian Royal Colonial Institute, 1938).

20 years.

614 We call a clan, in the ethnic sense, the group of paternal blood relatives who have an autonomous territory in common. This resembles closely what Anglo-Saxon researchers like to call a "lineage" (2).

2. The quotations in this article are from The Pattern of Hera Kinship, by J. F. Holleman (Capetown University Press, for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1949).

I. Wise

● 601 614 A Nkundo calls his own clan his wise, from the word ise which means "father." My wise thus includes:

1. My paternal grandfather and his brothers and sisters who are called nkoko (pl., bankoko), "grandfather, grandmother."

2. The sons of my male bankoko, including my own father, all of whom are my "fathers" (ise; pl., baise).

The sisters of my "fathers" are my "female fathers" (isomoto, composed of isé and bomoto, "woman").

3. The sons of my "fathers" are my older brothers (botomolo; pl., batomolo) and younger brothers (bokune; pl., bakune). The daughters of my "fathers" are my sisters (nkâna; pl., bankâna).

601 The children of my "female fathers" do not belong to my
614 clan.

4. Like my children, the children of my older and younger brothers are my "children" (bona; pl., bana). The Nkundo does not have any special terms for "son" and "daughter." He simply says "male child" and "female child."

5. The children of my "sons" are my grandchildren (bonkana; pl., bankana).

6. The children of these male grandchildren are my great grandchildren (bonkanola; pl., bankanola).

II. Bonyango

The mother's clan is called bonyango, from the word nyango, "mother," and includes:

1. The mother's father and his brothers, who are also nkoko.

2. Their daughters, including my own mother, who are "mothers" (nyango; pl., banyango). The brothers of my "mothers" are my "male mothers" (nyangompame; pl., ba-).

3. The sons and daughters of my "male mothers," who are thus of my generation in our sense but who, to the Nkundo, are my "children," since to them I am legally identified with my mother and therefore I am their "male mother." This explains
[602] the unusual and privileged position which I hold in my mother's clan.

4. The children of my "children" are my "grandchildren."
[219] [Table 1 appears here.] [220]

III. Bokanga and Banankana

601 A Nkundo has other blood relatives scattered among the clans
602 who have married a woman of his own clan, be it a "female father," a sister, or a daughter. A Nkundo calls all the unrelated members of these clans bokanga. The related members, including children born to the women of his clan, he calls impersonally sisters' children, "children of a sister of the clan" (bonankana; pl.,

[Text continues on page 4]

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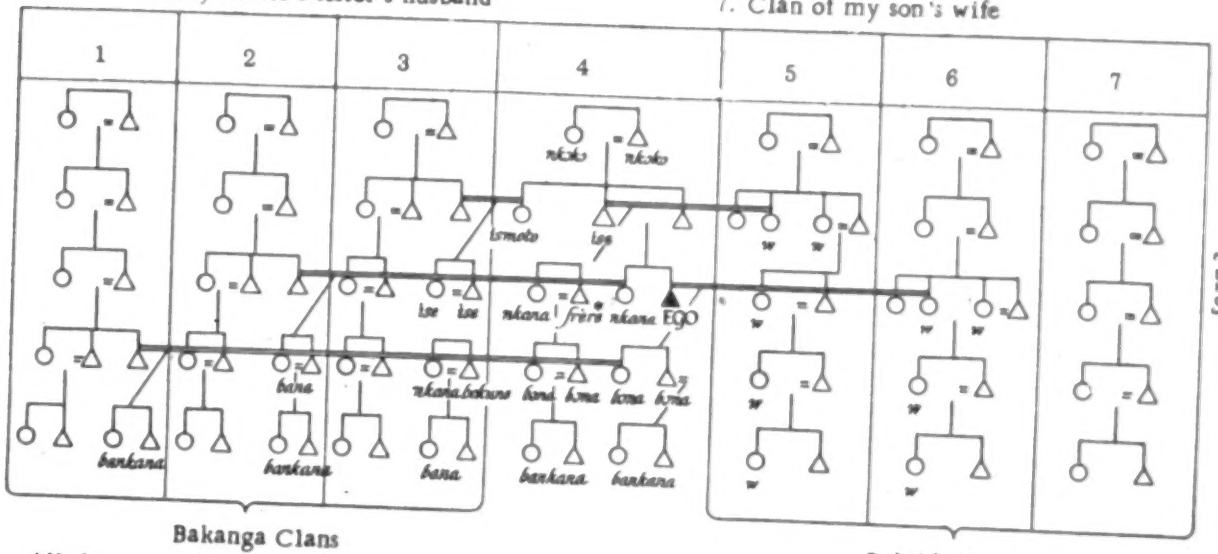
Table 1

Relatives and Affinals through the Paternal Clan

1. Clan of my daughter's husband
2. Clan of my sister's husband
3. Clan of my father's sister's husband
4. My own clan
5. Clan of my father's brother's wife
6. Clan of my wife
7. Clan of my son's wife



Bakanga Clans
All those undesignated = bakanga

Bakilõ Clans
All those undesignated = bakilõ

[*frère = brother IN French]

w = wali (wife)

601 banankana). As a result, the children are legally identified
602 with their mothers. Thus, my sister's child is a child (bona) to me, or a sister's child (bonankana), but to my own child he would be father (ise).

In addition, he has maternal blood relatives, children of my mother's sisters, who are thus his "brothers and sisters," or children of the daughters of his "male mothers." Since these last daughters are his "children," their children would be his "grandchildren." Again, all the members of these clans who are unrelated by blood are his bokanga.

IV. Likilo

601 There are affinal clans which have given wives (wali; pl.,
602 baali) to my clan. This does not, of course, concern my mother's
582 clan, which is a clan related by blood, but rather clans which have given wives, be it to a classificatory "father," to one of their sons, or to one of the sons of the latter. The Nkundo calls all the members of these clans -- with the exception of the woman -- bokilo (pl., bakilo). The Nkundo, merely by marrying a woman, at the same time marries all her legal younger sisters, that is to say, all the bakune [Ed., bankana?] and bana of this woman. Similarly, the woman marries not only a man, but at the same time all his legal younger brothers, that is, all the bakune and bana of this man (except the children of their own union).

601 Just as the clans which have received a wife from my clan thus
602 include bokanga and sisters' sons, so also clans that have given us a wife include bakilo and "wives." Clans which have given a wife to my bonyango follow the same rules.

Comments

121 In several recent studies, especially in South Africa, four
614 rules have been defined which govern classificatory terminology.
602 The first rule is that of the "unity of the lineage": The lineage as a whole is classified as belonging to a particular 'generation'

121 614 602 in its relations to another lineage as a whole" (Holleman, op. cit., p. 9). The author adds, "the unity of the lineage may be broken by a division into affines and cognatic, each with their distinctive terminology, in which the cognatic section is one 'generation' lower than the affinal section" (p. 5.).

121 614 602 601 Just as we speak of a mother society or a sister society, so the Nkundo can also consider an affinal clan as a moral person and speak of his mother's clan as of his mother, of a bokanga clan, of a bokilo clan. I do not think that the term bokanga or bokilo implies an idea of generation when it is applied to an individual, any more than does the French term "parent-in-law," or member of my family-in-law. The Nkundo would certainly not admit what the author cited here writes [221] [Table 2 appears here.] [222] about the Hera: "in inter-lineage relations, ... once the relationship between Ego and any cognatic relative is determined, all the cognates of the same lineage as that relative will bear the same degree of kinship as himself to Ego, regardless of the differences in generation . . . between themselves or as compared with Ego" (p. 5.).

The second rule would be that the clan which provides us a wife (bokilo clan of the Nkundo) is considered our "father," and thus the clan which receives a wife from our clan would be considered a "son." Moreover, among the Nkundo is understood: "We have given you our daughter as a wife, so you are our son." But also implied is: "We have enriched you by our marriage payment, and our children are your "fathers." These ideas, however, are not reflected in the terminology between affinals. Moreover, the fact that the Nkundo readily uses the term bokilo for his bokanga is significant.

Third rule: In lineages directly related to Ego's lineage, "the female line seems to be potentially one 'generation' lower than the agnatic male line" (p. 11). The author tells us that: "This duality is even revealed in agnatic relations . . . Ego calls his . . . father's sister either vatete (father's sister) or hanzwadzi (sister)." Thus, the women of directly related clans would be considered to belong to a lower generation than the men.

[Text continues on page 7]

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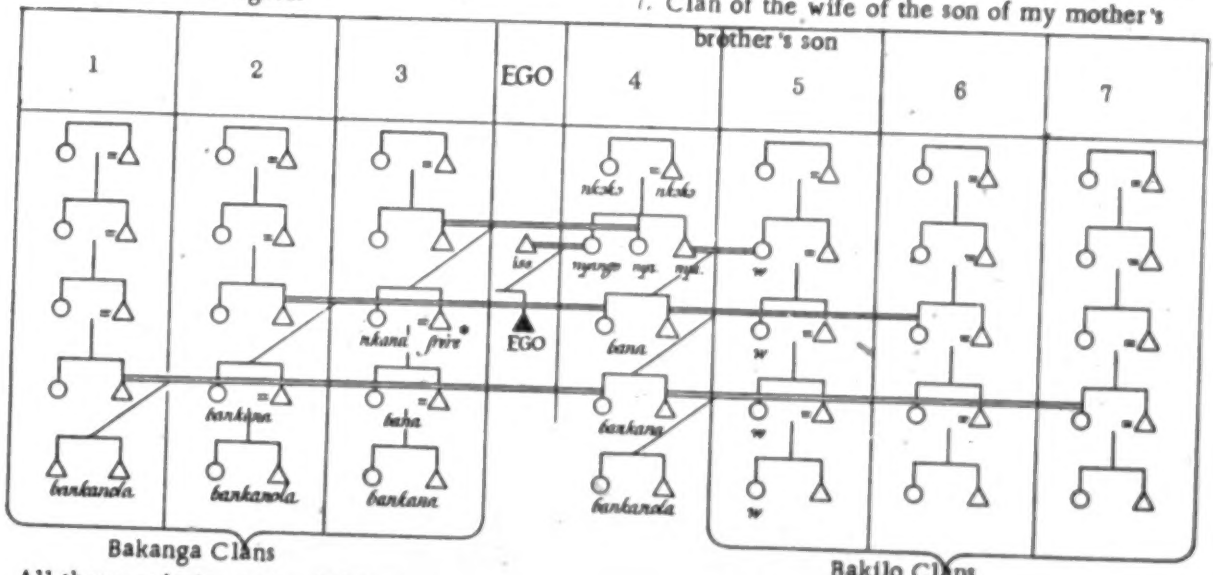
Table 2

Relatives and Affinals through the Paternal Clan

1. Clan of the husband of the daughter of my mother's brother's son
2. Clan of the husband of my mother's brother's daughter
3. Clan of my mother's sister's husband
4. My mother's clan
5. Clan of my mother's brother's wife
6. Clan of the wife of my mother's brother's son
7. Clan of the wife of the son of my mother's brother's son



Bakanga Clans

All those undesignated = bakanga

Bakilo Clans

All those undesignated = bakilo

[*frère = brother in French]

w = wali (wife)

9: Boelaert--6 E.M-5 (ca. 1945) 1951 FO32 Mongo FO32 Nkundu

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It must be stated that the tables of the bakanga clans presented by the author do not reflect this rule, since all members of these clans not related by blood, males as well as females, are designated as vakwasha= children-in-law. In the bakilo clans the rule seems to be founded on the Hera idea (according to the interpretation of the author) that all the women of my wife's clan are my "wives," no matter what their generation or age. This rule is not applicable to the Nkundo either in ideas or terminology.

There is still the fourth rule which the author quoted here uses often but does not interpret in his tables where it is completely opposed to the second rule: the child is legally identified with its mother. According to the second rule, the child of my father's sister would be my grandchild, and at the same time, according to the fourth rule, it would be my "father."

For the Nkundo, the fourth rule explains how this child is my "father," while the child of my mother's brother is my "child."

One may thus conclude that two rules explain the details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo:

1. In clans which have given a wife to our clan, all the women who are legally younger sisters of this wife, exclusively, are "wives" of all the men, exclusively, who are legally younger brothers of the husband.

2. In clans which have received a wife from our clan, the children born of this wife are identified with their mother by the children of this wife's brothers.